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FRELIMO TAKES POWER

Mozambique Gains Independence

June 25 is independence day for Mozambique—a new African nation of some 8 million people. After ten years of guerrilla war against Portuguese colonial rule, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) will assume leadership of the country and FRELIMO leader Samora Machel, 42, will become the first president. The independence celebrations will mark the formal end of nearly 500 years of Portuguese intervention and the emergence of a militant African government dedicated to the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and white-minority rule in southern Africa.

FRELIMO has already played a leading role in the transition government that has administered Mozambique for the past year. A coalition of FRELIMO and Portuguese officials was led by Joaquin Chissano, FRELIMO's defense minister, and the government's actions since last September give some indication of what future FRELIMO policy will be.

The emphasis has been and likely will continue to be on decolonization, mass political mobilization and national reconstruction. Speaking on the day the transition government was inaugurated last fall, FRELIMO president Machel declared: "We have inherited a difficult and serious social, economic, financial and cultural situation resulting from centuries of oppression and



FRELIMO leaders: Pres. Samora Machel and V. Pres. Marcelino dos Santos

colonial plunder. . . . We are faced with a heritage of widespread illiteracy, disease, poverty and hunger. We see our people, and particularly the people in the countryside, living in subhuman

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IN WAKE OF VIETNAM DEFEAT

U.S. Hardens Line on Korea

"One of the lessons of the Vietnamese conflict," Defense Secretary James Schlesinger told *U.S. News & World Report* recently, "is that rather than simply counter your opponent's thrusts, it is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent's power: destroy his military forces rather than simply being involved endlessly in ancillary military operations."

The opponent in question was North Korea, and the Secretary's comments are indicative of the hard line which the administration has taken on Korea since the U.S. defeat in Indochina.

On May 13, a top American military commander in Seoul told the *Los Angeles Times* that in the case of a North Korean attack—which the officer did not anticipate—the U.S. Command in South Korea would "most likely" urge the use of tactical nuclear weapons. His statement came in the midst of the Mayaguez incident, which, administration officials made clear, was aimed in large part as a warning to North Korea.

This aggressive posture in Korea is clearly part of the administration's preoccupation with demonstrating that the U.S. is still an Asian power—in fact a global power—following the defeat in Vietnam. But it is also part of a continuing policy in East Asia. That policy has left the Korean conflict unresolved and has produced a situation where 25 years after the Korean war, American troops still patrol the demilitarized zone between north and south, one of the most volatile flashpoints in the world.

South Korea has deep significance as the scene of the first open conflict of the Cold War. U.S. backing of the South Korean government is symbolic of Washington's commitment to hold the line against communism. Every administration since the Korean war has believed that a softening of the U.S. line on Korea would be read in Moscow and Peking as a weakening of U.S. power in general. Many officials also fear that pulling out of South Korea would mean dumping another U.S. "ally." That fear has locked the U.S. into supporting one of the most repressive dictatorships in Asia.

Perhaps most important in administration calculations is Korea's strategic importance in East Asia. In his May 26 interview with *U.S. News & World Report*, Schlesinger put it this way: "South Korea guards the approaches to Japan. It lies in a confluence of four great powers—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., China and Japan. Also it represents a historic involvement and commitment by the United States. Any sudden weakening of that commitment—particularly after Vietnam—would be of such major significance that it could unravel the situation in Asia and possibly elsewhere."

U.S. officials believe this "unravelling" would include Japan—the United States' most important ally in Asia. U.S. officials fear that a show of U.S. weakness in South Korea might strengthen the hand of leftist forces inside Japan who want less dependence on the U.S. One immediate result could be the

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Mozambique

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conditions of poverty and exploitation."

During a decade of guerrilla war, FRELIMO established liberated zones in northern Mozambique, where they introduced social reforms, including the abolition of forced labor and the compulsory production of cash crops. Cooperative farming, schools and some medical clinics were introduced. Popular councils and village self-defense brigades were set up and women were encouraged to join FRELIMO as guerrilla fighters and political organizers.

In other war zone areas outside FRELIMO control, there was little effort on the part of the Portuguese to provide relief for the African population. The Portuguese army forced villagers to relocate in strategic hamlets, poisoned the land with defoliants and massacred peasants and their livestock. Crops dried up, causing famine. Social services—always restricted for Africans—disappeared.

For the past nine months, FRELIMO has been working quietly throughout the country to mobilize the population—explaining its development program, organizing, and preparing to launch a national reconstruction campaign with the broadest possible base of active support.

FRELIMO has initiated a massive literacy campaign—80 to 90 percent of the country is said to be illiterate. Hundreds of volunteers, including many whites, are teaching classes day and night. FRELIMO education cadre are completely revising the old Portuguese curriculum, writing new textbooks and starting political education classes for all ages.

The theory behind all this, according to FRELIMO officials, is that Mozambique must be completely transformed, and that only an informed, politically active, hard-working population can accomplish this goal.

Mozambique has received aid from African, socialist and some European countries, but FRELIMO is stressing self-reliance and austerity to overcome the balance of payments deficit and the rapid rise of inflation. FRELIMO cadre are sworn to live modestly, and like the Chinese, whom they admire, FRELIMO leaders advocate collective work and insist that the imbalance between the rural areas and the cities must be overcome.

The transitional government slashed defense spending April 2 in its first budget of \$460 million and gave priority allocations to education, agriculture and health. FRELIMO banned the export of machinery, trucks and equipment early

this year to prevent the economic sabotage of the country's limited industrial capacity. Machel and other leaders want to develop Mozambique's mineral resources, which include coal, bauxite, iron ore, some oil and natural gas, as well as modest quantities of gold and diamonds.

There is also the giant Cabora Bassa dam project in the northwestern province of Tete. The \$500 million undertaking was started in 1968 by a South African consortium, ZAMCO. The project was denounced by FRELIMO, which saw the dam as a scheme to flood one of its base areas, open up the region to large-scale white settlement, and provide electrical power for South Africa's apartheid regime. Last December, Prime Minister Chissano announced that FRELIMO would nationalize the dam within a year and operate it for the benefit of all Mozambicans. In the short run, FRELIMO will reluctantly sell electrical power to the South African regime to avoid breaking the contractual agreements that might spark an international crisis and a devastating South African boycott of the fragile Mozambique economy. However, South Africa has already ordered a "drastic reduction" in its financial commitment to the Cabora Bassa project—and in the long run FRELIMO can be expected to use the dam's hydro-electric power as a weapon against apartheid.

FRELIMO's foreign policy is expected to focus primarily on the white-minority regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith in Rhodesia. Machel has predicted that the Smith regime "will not live long" after Mozambique becomes independent. Since 80 percent of Rhodesia's trade currently passes through Mozambique to ports on the Indian Ocean, FRELIMO is in a key position to strangle the Rhodesian economy. With the financial support of the 33-nation British Commonwealth to compensate Mozambique for the revenues it will lose by cutting trade with Rho-



Colonial war: "Search and Destroy"

CHRONOLOGY

June 25, 1962	FRELIMO founded in exile in Tanzania; Dr. Eduardo Mondlane named president.
Sept. 25, 1964	FRELIMO declares war.
1968	Second FRELIMO Congress held in liberated Niassa province.
Feb. 3, 1969	Mondlane assassinated.
Dec. 1972	Wiriyaumu massacre: Portuguese kill 500 villagers; exposed in July '73 by British priest.
April 25, 1974	Coup in Portugal.
May 8	FRELIMO rejects Spínola's call for a ceasefire and federation with Portugal.
July	FRELIMO opens new front in central Zambezia province; Portuguese troops refuse to fight.
Sept. 7	Portugal signs independence agreement with FRELIMO in Lusaka, Zambia.
Sept. 7-10	Right-wing whites stage abortive rebellion in Lourenço Marques to protest Lusaka accord.
Sept. 30	Transition government installed in Mozambique.
June 25, 1975	Independence.

desia, FRELIMO is virtually certain to join the United Nations embargo against the Smith regime.

Diplomatically, FRELIMO says it will pursue a policy of independence and non-alignment, although it has a long history of firm ties with China, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Early this year, Machel led a high-level FRELIMO delegation to China and North Korea. FRELIMO maintains excellent relations with Algeria, Tanzania, Vietnam and Cuba.

Relations with the United States, on the other hand, are poor, and Washington has done little to improve them. During the long colonial war, the U.S. supported Portugal, its NATO ally, against FRELIMO. This was part of an overall U.S. strategy under Nixon and Kissinger (outlined in National Security Study Memorandum 39—see *IB*, vol. 1, no. 20) to support the white-minority regimes in southern Africa.

Now the U.S. government is concerned about securing the sea lanes out of the oil-rich Persian Gulf past Mozambique and around South Africa to the Atlantic. To bolster U.S. military capability in the area, the Pentagon wants to expand its Indian Ocean base of Diego Garcia. FRELIMO has opposed this expansion and advocated the neutralization of the Indian Ocean.

VIETNAMESE REFUGEES AND "WHITE GOLD"

Bringing It All Back Home

"General Nguyen Cao Ky had landed on the helicopter before us. In the inspection of his baggage, the U.S. Navy personnel had found a kilo of heroin, which they immediately threw overboard." According to journalist Bill Robbins, who told *Internews* of his experiences as a refugee in the U.S. evacuation from South Vietnam, Ky was only the most notable of the Saigon generals who arrived on the aircraft carrier *Midway* with heroin caches.

Robbins interviewed a dozen Navy personnel who said they saw the two pounds of heroin—worth nearly \$2 million on the streets of New York—taken from General Ky. Ky is reputed to have been one of the top figures in the Southeast Asia opium trade since the fifties, but now claims he is nearly broke and seeking only a modest existence in the U.S.

Robbins said that U.S. officials did not detain any of the generals who brought heroin onto the *Midway*, but simply threw the dope they found overboard. Not all the "white gold" was confiscated, however, Robbins said. Although he did not see any heroin on the *Midway* for the few hours he was on the ship, he did find plentiful amounts on the merchant marine freighter *U.S.S. Greenport*, to which he was soon transferred.

In the six days he was on the *Greenport*, Robbins saw a total of about seven pounds of heroin. "This was mainly in hand luggage that the refugees—many of them Saigon air force personnel—had carried on board. No one had especially large quantities that I saw, such as a pound, but soldiers would have four or five ounces of pure heroin. It was their white gold—their stake for the future."

Robbins said he knew of no other journalists who travelled and lived with the refugees. He did so because he had married a Vietnamese woman and adopted a five-year-old boy to bring them out of Saigon with him. In the overcrowded conditions on the *Greenport*—4,500 passengers on a ship designed for 50—and later at the camps, Robbins was able to get an inside look at the refugees' evacuation.

Robbins said the luggage checks on the *Greenport*, and later at Guam, were primarily for weapons, using metal detectors. "The only point where there was a customs check was when we were leaving Anderson Air Force Base on Guam for the U.S. There were metal detectors to check for weapons, and the inspectors



Nguyen Cao Ky

went through your luggage, but there was no check of your person."

Robbins said that he did not know how much heroin was brought to Guam and then to the U.S. by the refugees, but one indication was a significant increase in the heroin supply on Guam. Robbins said that on the *Greenport* he had met a former member of the U.S. special forces, who was a junkie. "He had run out of heroin and had the shakes and convulsions on the ship. He needed heroin. So at Camp Fortuitous New Life, where we were taken on Guam, he went to score some. The same hustlers, pimps and cowboys that were in Saigon immediately massed around him. They took him to another place to check him out, and then finally he was able to score." Robbins said the heroin was also hitting the streets in Guam outside the refugee camp and that the price dropped significantly in the six days he was on the island.

"I immediately told the base commander about this," Robbins said, "because I have no love for heroin." But the U.S. military officials, according to Robbins, were pressed by the survival problems at the camp and did not seem to appreciate the scope of the drug problem.

Robbins said there also were indications that a good deal of the smuggled heroin has made it into the U.S.—including reports that four U.S. military personnel at Camp Pendleton died of heroin overdoses within days of the refugees' arrival, and newspaper accounts of a serious influx of heroin into New York last month.

Even in the U.S., Robbins said, the security was extremely loose. At Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, he said, "you could drive out of the camp in a car with a trunkload of dope—or simply walk away from the camp and climb over a fence."

Robbins said the same system of privilege and corruption that existed in Saigon

was duplicated on the ship and later at the camps. "Most of the generals were allowed to stay on the aircraft carrier to live with the Americans," Robbins said, "while the rest of the Vietnamese [including Robbins, since he had two Vietnamese dependents] were transported to the overcrowded *Greenport*, on which there was little fresh water and C-rations that had expired in 1969. On the ship, the doctors would immediately get into a role of responsibility—which they did not follow through on, but which allowed them to get showers and clean water—which the rest of us did not get. At the camps, with money you could buy your way past the long lines, which were controlled by the lawyers. You paid \$15 to get to the immigration desk quicker at Fort Chaffee, for example, although if you were a colonel or above, you didn't need to pay."

Once back in the U.S., Robbins went to Washington where he told officials at the Drug Enforcement Agency and on Capitol Hill about the potential magnitude of the heroin problem. He said he found little interest in the story and felt the officials were "polite, but running me around in circles." The Pentagon had "no comment" on Robbins' charges that heroin was being smuggled past loose security procedures.

In a coming issue of the International Bulletin we will take a look at what has happened to the Vietnamese refugees who want to return home.

CIA SPIRITS GENERAL FROM CAMP

The *Washington Post* reported May 24 that the CIA had "pressed hard to obtain the speedy release from a refugee camp" for Lt. Gen. Dang Van Quang, described as "one of Saigon's most powerful officials and widely accused of being one of its most corrupt." Quang was a special assistant for military and security affairs for Nguyen Van Thieu and was considered Thieu's "bag man" for political payoffs—as well as a major figure in the heroin trade.

The CIA reportedly helped Quang bypass red tape at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas and fly to Montreal after the general pleaded that his life had been threatened by other Vietnamese in the camp. Apparently the CIA felt obligated to protect one of its own—or feared Quang might talk too freely about his activities in Vietnam. According to the *Post*, Quang had "overseen activities of South Vietnam's equivalent of the CIA and worked closely with the U.S. intelligence agency." The *Post* said that Quang had called a high-level CIA official in Washington to obtain help in getting out of the camp, but the agency refused comment on whether Quang was now on the CIA payroll.

25-YEAR RETROSPECTIVE

A Fresh Look at the Korean War

U.S. involvement in Vietnam deeply divided American society and ultimately led to sharp conflict within the highest levels of government. The Vietnam war spawned vocal and articulate critics and finally resulted in nearly universal doubts about the wisdom of U.S. intervention in Indochina. But the Korean War, which began 25 years ago this month, did not lead to violent confrontations at home and left no legacy of critical assessment. A quarter of a century after that war began—simultaneously with the first U.S. steps into Vietnam—Korea is again a focus of U.S. policymakers. And the conflict that was never resolved in Korea could once again lead to U.S. involvement in an Asian war.

A fresh look at the Korean War reveals a number of striking parallels between the conflicts in Vietnam and Korea:

- In both cases, the U.S. intervened militarily on behalf of an unpopular regime

installed by the U.S. in a divided country—half of which was securely held by a communist movement. Syngman Rhee was brought to South Korea from the U.S., where he had lived for many years, much like Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam. Rhee's unpopularity is uncontested. One week before the start of the Korean War, he suffered a severe setback in National Assembly elections. Ten years later, in 1960, he was finally overthrown after massive student protests.

- For the North Koreans, as for the Vietnamese, the war became one of popular resistance to the United States. and similarly, the U.S. became engaged in a total war against the civilian population.

North Korea was subjected to one of the most massive aerial bombardments in history. During the three years of the war, B-29 bombers—each carrying 20 tons of bombs, nearly the load of a B-52—were in the air over the North for all but 25 days. As in Vietnam, the air war against North Korea had two broad goals: interdiction of supplies and terror against the civilian population.

Supplies came from Manchuria by truck and in many cases by human porters, down a network of mountain trails and roads which were constantly bombed and strafed. Every city in North Korea was systematically reduced to rubble. In the last days of the war, even irrigation dams were attacked, with the objective of destroying the food supply. "To the communists," *Air University Review Quarterly* wrote in 1953, "the smashing

of the dams meant primarily the destruction of their chief sustenance: rice. The Westerner can little conceive the awesome meaning which the loss of this staple food commodity has for the Asian: starvation and slow death."

The U.S. Air Force used napalm and anti-personnel weapons widely. North Korea has long charged that U.S. troops committed many My Lai style massacres of civilians during their six month occupation of the North.

- The broad pattern of negotiations in both wars was similar. In both cases the U.S. stalled the negotiating process, while trying to make major military gains on the battlefield. Negotiations in Korea dragged on for almost two years, while the U.S. continued to mount offensives

THE "NORTH KOREAN THREAT"

Asked directly, top administration spokespeople say they do not think a North Korean attack on the south is imminent. Yet, since the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, U.S. officials and the American press have presented the image of a belligerent North Korea, looking for a chance to invade the south.

Official concern over North Korean intentions began when North Korea's president Kim Il Sung made a surprise visit to China in late April. What disturbed the U.S. was the timing of the trip—it came in the midst of the final collapse of the Saigon regime.

Kim Il Sung's speech in Peking, it is said, was extremely bellicose. It was interpreted in Washington as a sign that Kim had gone to China to get backing for an invasion scheme. But Kim's speeches are often militantly anti-U.S.—particularly when it comes to U.S. troops in South Korea. And there was little in the speech to indicate a major policy shift.

The Chinese welcoming speech for Kim was reportedly more restrained in tone, emphasizing peaceful reunification in Korea

photo/Life



Life magazine 1950: "Burned Reds are victims of flame throwers which the Marines used at close range"

Korea

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closing of U.S. bases in Japan. Moreover, analysts say that if the U.S. pulls out, a communist victory in Korea cannot be ruled out. No one is suggesting that a unified Korea under a communist government would try to attack Japan. What Washington fears is that Japan would be pushed—much like Thailand is now—into greater accommodation with its communist neighbors.

For all these reasons, the U.S. has for the last 25 years been committed to a strong military presence on the Korean peninsula. Today there are 42,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea—the largest U.S. military force on the Asian mainland. Another 55,000 U.S. troops are based in Japan, primarily to back up those in Korea. About 10,000 soldiers of the Army's Second Division are stationed on and near the DMZ at the 38th parallel.

There are three Air Force squadrons with about 80 fighter planes, along with Hawk and Hercules missiles. And, most dangerously, the U.S. has a large number of tactical nuclear weapons in South Korea.

The U.S. commitment in South Korea is defined by a mutual defense pact, which provides for the U.S. to respond to any aggression against South Korea in accord with due constitutional processes. But, as I.F. Stone points out in the June 2 *New York Times*, U.S. troops stationed along the DMZ act as a trip wire that will immediately propel the U.S. into any confrontation in Korea, negating the precautions written into the treaty. In addition, under the United Nations Command—set up during the Korean War and still in effect—the South Korean army is commanded by a U.S. general. So the U.S. would automatically be running any war from the outset.

The Pentagon, recognizing that it must

avoid another ground war in Asia, says that the crucial U.S. contribution in a possible Korean war will be air power. In addition, there are threats of tactical nuclear weapons and lightning attacks on North Korea's heartland—all avoiding the use of U.S. troops. "So the U.S. wouldn't feel the same constraints to avoid heavy bombing, blockades and that sort of thing in Korea that we felt in Vietnam?" asked *U.S. News & World Report*. "I would doubt it," answered the Secretary of Defense.

Still, there are some who fear a repeat of Vietnam. While Congress is not prepared now to demand a withdrawal of U.S.

A COMMUNICATION PROBLEM?

"The United States would consider using tactical nuclear weapons in case of an outbreak of war in the Korean peninsula, a top American military commander said here Monday." *Los Angeles Times*, May 13

"North Korea said today that the United States considered South Korea a forward defense area and that American officials had asserted that they would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons in Korea if necessary. . . .

"Asked for comment on the North Korean charge, a State Department spokesman said, "That's nonsense." *AP*, May 19

along the front which had stabilized on the 38th parallel, and waged a bombing campaign against the North. I.F. Stone has documented the pattern in which the negotiations were stalled or cut off in order to allow for an attempted military breakthrough. In perhaps the most blatant sabotage of negotiations, U.S. planes

rather than war. In fact, the speech of Vice-Chairman Ten Hsiao-Ping was expressly voicing support for the official North Korean line. During the foreign tour that followed Kim's China visit, the North Korean leader called talk of an invasion "foolish," and repeated that the two halves of Korea should be reunified by peaceful means.

With the facts presented so far, it would be equally possible to conclude that Kim Il Sung's trip was part of the diplomatic offensive begun by North Korea several years ago, aimed at isolating the Park regime internationally and getting the U.S. to pull its troops out of South Korea. What stands out about the China trip is the fact that China recognized the North Korean government as the "sole, legitimate, sovereign state of the Korean nation." This is in line with North Korea's efforts to block the "two Koreas" policy advocated by the U.S. and South Korea. The North Koreans argue that this policy is aimed at making permanent the division of Korea into north and south, by encouraging diplomatic recognition of both regimes.

If the administration has concrete evidence that North Korea is planning for an invasion of the south, it has yet to present it to the American public.

troops, California Senator Alan Cranston—a leading critic of U.S. involvement in Korea—warns, "We cannot be involved there indefinitely, or surely we will be involved in a ground war in Asia and again with a corrupt military dictatorship."

Critics like scholar and former ambassador to Japan Edwin Reischauer argue that the U.S. should at least use its aid to South Korea as a way of pressuring President Park Chung Hee to democratize his rule. Reischauer says that Park's dictatorship is itself a force for instability in East Asia, since it creates disunity and a lack of commitment among the South Korean population. Opposition leaders in South

strafed the site of the peace talks on August 23, 1951, attacking the jeep carrying North Korea's chief negotiator, Lt. Gen. Nam Il.

The origin of the Korean war is often contrasted with Vietnam as a clear-cut case of "communist aggression." For 25 years, the common explanation of the outbreak of the war is that the North Koreans, backed by the Soviet Union and

China, launched a surprise attack on the morning of June 25, 1950, striking across the 38th parallel that divided north and south

I.F. Stone, who was one of the very few critical voices in the American media during the Korean War, argued that there was evidence that the war started with an attack by the South Korean army into the north, an attack that was quickly driven back and followed up by a North Korean drive into the south.

More recently, historians Joyce and Gabriel Kolko have suggested that the conflict began as a civil war with widespread guerrilla fighting in the south against the Syngman Rhee regime. North Korea says that prior to the outbreak of full-scale war in June, there were 90,000 guerrillas fighting in the South, and the Seoul government claimed to have killed 19,000 "enemies" during the previous year.

Whatever the origin of the war, with the large scale entrance of U.S. ground troops in the amphibious landings at Inchon in September 1950, the war was quickly transformed: as General MacArthur's armies marched north to the Yalu river on the Chinese border, the U.S. objective became the "rollback" of com-

munist in the North and the unification of Korea under an anti-communist, pro-U.S. government—rather than simply stopping a communist attack.

The outbreak of war in Korea also made it politically possible for President Truman to triple the defense budget. According to Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington, the Korean War allowed the Truman administration to implement a peacetime defense program to create a "massive retaliation" nuclear strike force that had been mapped out four months earlier in February 1950 in a still classified document, National Security Council Study No. 68. The Defense budget climbed from \$12 billion in 1950 to \$20 billion in 1951, and \$41 billion in 1952. Unlike the end of World War II, the end of the Korean War did not mean a cutback in defense spending—which has remained relatively constant or increased since 1953.

Not only was the Korean conflict the opening shot in the Cold War, it also set Washington's commitments in Asia for decades to come. Truman reversed his hands-off policy toward Taiwan and committed the U.S. to maintenance of the Chaing Kai Shek regime—whose fall to the Chinese communists was widely anticipated in the months prior to the outbreak of the war in Korea. And little noticed in the U.S. at the time, Truman sent the first U.S. military aid to Indochina in July, 1950, to support the French effort to re-establish a colonial regime in Vietnam. By the time the war ended in Korea, the U.S. was paying nearly 70% of the French war effort in Vietnam, and was soon to take over for the French after the 1954 Geneva Accords.

Korea make a similar argument, warning that without democracy, South Koreans have nothing to fight for.

U.S. officials have warned Park that some appearance of democracy may be necessary in order to get congressional approval for future U.S. aid. But there is no indication that the U.S. has actually tried to use its considerable leverage to bring about a real democratization of life in South Korea. In fact, it is unlikely that fostering a more democratic regime is on the U.S. agenda at all, since democracy in South Korea would inevitably lead to talk of reunification. And that could lead quickly to a Korea where the U.S. has little or no role to play.

Reunification may seem a remote dream to many South Koreans, but it is a genuine dream. Pressure for reunification is such that in 1972, Park signed a joint statement with North Korea, outlining principles for reunifying the country.

They agreed that reunification should be achieved independently, without outside interference, peacefully and by promoting national unity. Talk like this inside South Korea is still grounds for arrest under the country's harsh anti-communist laws. But the idea of reunification, which has been a deep-seated demand in South Korea over the years, was raised once again.

Under present U.S. policy, the dangers to Washington of a democratic South Korea appear far greater than the dangers of perpetuating Park's dictatorship. And so the U.S. maintains its commitment—backed by American troops and tactical nuclear weapons—not only to South Korea, but to the Park dictatorship whose repressive rule is a constant source of internal opposition and unrest. All of that makes South Korea one of the most dangerous points of confrontation on the globe today.

internewsroundupinternewsroundup

SENATE COMMITTEE VOTES BASE FUNDS

The Senate Armed Services Committee voted June 17 to approve plans to expand U.S. naval facilities on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

diego garcia

The administration wants to spend \$13.8 million to enlarge the island base, which lies in the midst of the sea lanes running out of the oil-rich Persian Gulf. Committee members said they were influenced by testimony from Defense Secretary James Schlesinger that the Soviet Union is rapidly expanding its military presence in the area.

Schlesinger told the committee that the Soviet Union already has a base at Berbera in the east African nation of Somalia—a charge which was flatly denied by the Somalian government. Meanwhile, U.S. intelligence sources in Washington were telling reporters last week that the Soviet Union may be preparing to establish a base in Mozambique after FRELIMO takes full power June 25—despite the fact that FRELIMO has followed a policy of non-alignment, and if anything is more closely associated with China than with the Soviet Union.

Congressional opponents of the Diego Garcia base expansion plans point out that most nations in the Indian Ocean are opposed to the base, and have joined with the United Nations in calling for the area to remain a “zone of peace.” Others express concern that a U.S. buildup will in fact spur Soviet expansion in the area, an argument that was backed up in congressional testimony last year by CIA director William Colby.

CIA “DESTABILIZING” ZAIRE, ANGOLA?

African leaders have become increasingly suspicious and nervous about the possibility of CIA “destabilization” efforts in the black-ruled nations of southern Africa. The fears started when it became clear last year that African liberation movements would come to power in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique—movements that the United States had opposed. Those fears were exacerbated by the transfer this year of a so-called CIA “coup team” from Latin America to key State Department posts in Africa: Nathaniel Davis, Dean Hinton and William Bowdler—men reportedly involved in the Chile coup and counterinsurgency in Guatemala—became, respectively, the top State Dept. officer for Africa, ambassador to Zaire and ambassador to South Africa. The Organization of African Unity was outraged and sent an unprecedented protest to Sec. of State Kissinger (see IB #4).

Now two African leaders have indicated that the CIA team may already be at work. Pres. Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire charged June 17 that “a great foreign power” was behind a recent coup attempt against his government. On June 19, Zaire ordered U.S. ambassador Deane Hinton to leave the country, amidst anti-U.S. rallies. And in Angola, the leftist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola blamed “the forces of imperialism” for trying to sow division and foment civil war to prevent the colony from gaining independence on Nov. 11. The MPLA charged that a Brazilian death squad, whose members once worked for the CIA in Chile, is now at work in Angola—murdering and trying to create political and economic chaos.

Why the U.S. would want to overthrow Mobutu is not clear.

Mobutu has been called a “CIA success story”—rising to power over leftist leader Patrice Lumumba, who was assassinated in 1961 reportedly with CIA assistance. But the reasons for U.S. intervention in Angola are more plausible: the territory is rich in resources, especially oil, and U.S. companies, such as Gulf Oil, are reluctant to risk their investments under a new black government.

At any rate, the charges of CIA involvement reveal how widely discredited the agency has become in Africa, where leaders have learned to assume the worst of U.S. intentions.

FAMINE STRIKES ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA AND HAITI

As we noted in our last issue, the world food crisis has not disappeared, and this month there are new reports of drought and famine in Ethiopia, Somalia and Haiti. A Reuters dispatch June 4 reported that an eight-month drought in northeastern Africa has affected 800,000 people and the resulting famine is feared to be even worse than the disastrous famine which struck Ethiopia in 1973. That year and the next as many as 200,000 Ethiopians died in Wollo province alone, producing charges of government neglect and cover-up that contributed to the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie.

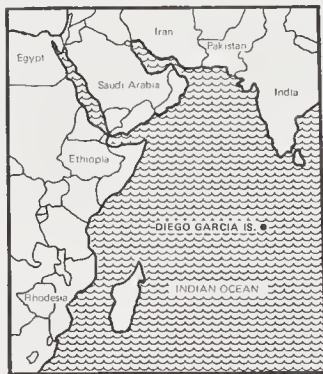
The current famine is centered in the Ogaden region, a semi-desert area on the border between Ethiopia and Somalia. Both countries have left-wing military governments which are trying to implement radical land reform programs—at least partially based on the Chinese model—to break the continuing cycle of famine and poverty. And both governments have vast relief and resettlement operations underway to cope with the calamity. But the Ethiopian commissioner for relief and rehabilitation is quoted as saying that the Ogaden crisis is worse than anything ever experienced before and that international relief aid is desperately needed.

In Haiti, a prolonged drought in the northwestern part of the Caribbean island has left half a million peasants on the edge of starvation. Local farmers, who are crowded onto the worst land by a handful of wealthy landowners, have lost most of their livestock, watched their crops wither, and are now existing on mangoes and grain seed. U.S. AID, CARE and U.S. Catholic Relief Services have announced that they will send emergency food supplies to the area.

U.S. COMPANY TO BUILD SPY SYSTEM FOR SHAH

Rockwell International has signed a multimillion dollar contract to set up a communications intelligence system in Iran, and is recruiting former employees of the National Security Agency (NSA) and its Air Force component the Air Force Security Service (AFSS) for the project. The system, which ultimately could cost \$500 million, will be capable of intercepting military and civilian communications throughout the Persian Gulf, according to “well-placed United States officials” cited by the *New York Times* June 1. One former NSA official told the *Times* that the communications system “also could be used against Israel, and even used by the Iranian secret police, the SAVAC, to help locate dissidents inside the country and for other internal security functions.” He pointed out that the Iranians could, with the help of former NSA and AFSS officials, develop counterintelligence means to prevent the U.S. from intercepting and decoding Iranian signals.

The *Times* also reported that Iran was planning to use airborne as well as ground-based electronic equipment, including

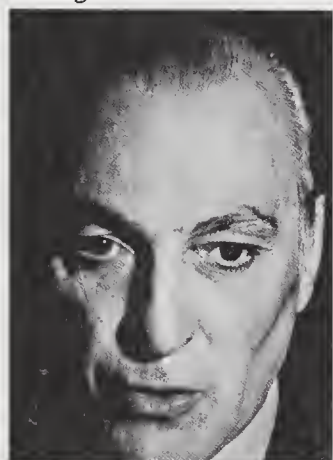


"specially adapted C-130 aircraft, similar to those now used by the AFSS for its intelligence gathering operations. During the Vietnam War . . . the aircraft monitored communications over Southeast Asia and China every day." The Shah may be planning to use this advanced intelligence capability to aid his counterinsurgency effort in Oman, as well as to further his expanding military power in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

ECONOMIC TURMOIL AND RIGHT-WING POWER

The government signed an accord June 18 with eight multinational auto producers that will defer payments for imported materials in an effort to bail the country out of a staggering balance of payments deficit. The new economy minister, Celestino Rodrigo, said that in exchange the government would allow the companies to raise prices 30 percent or more. Pres. Isabel Peron announced that the agreement would save the country \$500 million.

argentina



Jose Lopez Rega

But the announcement did not prevent thousands of workers at Peugeot, Fiat and Chrysler plants from taking to the streets to demand higher wages. Argentina is in turmoil over the economy—with most workers opposed to Rodrigo's "shock treatment" measures, including a massive devaluation of the peso and increased prices for all basic items. The new army commander, Gen. Alberto LaPlane, is reportedly anxious to use his forces to crush both the left-wing guerrilla insurgency and labor dissent. LaPlane is a member of an explicitly fascist Catholic sect and, like Rodrigo, was the choice of Jose Lopez Rega, the social welfare minister and real power behind Isabel Peron. Rega, an extreme rightist and believer in the occult, has eliminated all his opponents in the cabinet.

SECURING NEW U.S. BASES

The Mariana islands in the western Pacific are slated to become the first major addition to U.S. territory in nearly 60 years. In a referendum held June 17, residents of the Marianas voted overwhelmingly to become a commonwealth of the United States with a status similar to that of Puerto Rico.

marianas

The United States, which has been negotiating with Marianas leaders for three years, is interested in making the islands part of the U.S., primarily because it will give the Pentagon secure military bases in the Pacific. Islands like Tinian in the Marianas, along with nearby Guam, are often described as the future American fall back position, in the western Pacific, if and when the U.S. is forced to remove its bases from the Asian mainland.

Critics in the Marianas say the U.S. takeover will shatter hopes of unifying all the islands in the Pacific chain known as Micronesia, and that it will turn vast amounts of farmland over to the Pentagon for use as U.S. bases. The people of Tinian have already been told that the U.S. wants two-thirds of their island for a \$300 million base, and administration officials say they are considering storing nuclear weapons on Tinian.

Why did the islanders, whose land is now part of a trust territory administered by the U.S., vote for commonwealth status? One critic of the referendum put it this way: "The people of the Marianas are being asked to choose between commonwealth status, with some of the benefits of U.S. citizenship, or continued trusteeship status, with none of the rights of free citizens."

THREE BIG FEATURES AND ANOTHER SCOOP

South Korea, Mozambique, Kissinger's nuclear strategy. And an expose of General Ky and other high Saigon officials trying to smuggle heroin into the United States. We hope we've done it again—staying on top of the big, breaking international news and unearthing another story ignored by the established media. Background, analysis, in-depth coverage on the features; an investigative report; and a quick tour of the world on our two round-up pages.

For us, the best part, is that before we dared to say anything like this in print, we started to hear it from our readers—you. This week we heard it again from a subscriber in Los Angeles, who wrote: "Just read page 7 of Vol. 2 No. 10, and I want to agree with one of your readers about you being the *best* buy in the country. I look forward to your *Bulletin* in the mail."

Don't worry, all this hasn't gone to our heads. We're constantly pressing ourselves to improve the *Bulletin*, correct our mistakes and bring you more useful information.

But what is particularly encouraging to us is the number of readers who have sent gift subscriptions to friends and relatives. We're a word-of-mouth paper and we appreciate the recommendation. Thanks.

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ISRAEL: The government devalued the Israeli currency and announced it will no longer be tied to the dollar. (Agence France Press 6/17) • PLO: Former senator J. W. Fulbright met for 1½ hours with PLO leader Yasser Arafat. (*Los Angeles Times* 6/13) • GREECE: Greece formally applied for membership in the European Common Market. (AFP 6/12) The government demoted Col. Theodoros Theofiloyannakos, former chief of military police, to private, citing "overwhelming evidence" that he directed torture of political dissidents under the former military dictatorship. (AP 6/18) • LATIN AMERICA: Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz arrived in Caracas at the start of an unofficial visit to Latin America. (AFP 6/17) • CHILE: The U.S. will exclude "communists and terrorists" from a group of Chilean leftist political prisoners to be offered refuge in the U.S. (AFP 6/18) Junta chief Augusto Pinochet dismissed the possibility of holding elections in Chile within the next two generations. (Latin 6/17) • MEXICO: A series of strikes has paralyzed three universities, along with a number of government offices and industries. (Prensa Latina 6/17) • ANGOLA: The MPLA charged that a Brazilian death squad, whose members formerly worked for the CIA in Chile, has been carrying out murders and acts to create chaos in Angola. (AFP 6/18) • MALAGASY (MADAGASCAR): A new government announced

nationalization of banks, insurance and film companies in what is expected to be the start of a major reform movement. (AFP 6/17) • PAPUA NEW GUINEA: The former Australian colony of Papua New Guinea will become independent Sept. 16 (AP 6/18) • PHILIPPINES: The government announced that it had launched limited search and destroy operations against Moslem rebels in the southern Philippines to counter stepped-up guerrilla attacks on civilian and military targets. (AFP 6/18) Officials describe as "impending" the opening of ties with the Soviet Union. (AFP 6/18) • TAIWAN: The U.S. has quietly withdrawn its last combat aircraft based in Taiwan and plans to cut its remaining force there by 30% by the end of June. (*New York Times* 6/8) • THAILAND: All U.S. B-52s and 14 F-111s have been removed from Thailand, leaving about 300 U.S. aircraft at four U.S. bases. (*Christian Science Monitor* 6/16) July 1 has been set as the date for the announcement of diplomatic relations between Thailand and China. (AFP 6/18) • WEAPONS: The Pentagon is seeking congressional approval to spend \$200 million on two new nerve-gas weapons. (*CSM* 6/9) • SPORTS: Muhammad Ali says he will visit China at the invitation of Chairman Mao Tse-tung after his July 1 bout in Malaysia. (AP 6/17)

AFTER VIETNAM

U.S. Plans for Limited Nuclear War

Since the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, the Ford administration is more openly talking about and planning for use of nuclear weapons in a future limited war. U.S. Air Force B-52 bomber crews have begun training to fight a limited nuclear war in case the administration chooses to exercise that option, according to a *Washington Post* report June 14.

"Many crews," the *Post* reported, "under the top secret orders that have added a number of wartime missions to the Strategic Air Command, already have received new 'mission folders' explaining their new tasks. These instructions represent another step in the Ford administration's decision to prepare the nation for a small nuclear war, where destruction might be controlled, as well as for a war of massive incineration." This training, the *Post* said, is part of what is being called at the Pentagon the Limited Nuclear Option, or LNO, and is part of a long range administration program to adopt a "flexible nuclear strategy" rather than relying on mutual assured destruction.

Since May the administration has been publicly threatening the use of tactical nuclear weapons in possible future confrontations. A top U.S. military commander in South Korea told the *Los Angeles Times* May 13 that use of tactical nuclear weapons would likely be recommended if North Korea were to attack

the South. "If you are going to fight in Korea—and for objectives possibly larger than the Korean Peninsula itself," he explained "you then have to face a decision [as to whether] you are going to deploy a lot of U.S. divisions over here, or [whether] you are going to consider something else first." He made it clear, the *Times* said, that "something else" was tactical nuclear weapons.

Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, in a report to Congress last month, argued for first use of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe by the U.S. if NATO conventional forces were unable to hold under a conventional attack from the Warsaw Pact armies. For more than a decade, the U.S. has stored some 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and hundreds if not thousands in other countries, including South Korea. "Tactical" nuclear weapons refer to those intended for limited battlefield use rather than all-out strategic nuclear war. They can be as small as an artillery shell with very limited firepower or many times more powerful than a Hiroshima-sized bomb.

The discussion and planning for use of tactical nuclear weapons and limited nuclear war reflect the administration's effort to maintain the credibility of U.S. military power. The Vietnam war demonstrated the political and military limits of U.S. power—that another protracted land war involving U.S. conventional forces is likely to be both militarily futile and politically unacceptable.

The Mayaguez incident, however, showed that the President could rally considerable congressional and public support for a "sharp, decisive blow," which accomplished U.S. military and political objectives in a short time with minimal cost.

The administration has apparently drawn two lessons from Vietnam and Mayaguez:

- If the U.S. wants to maintain its military commitments and objectives at a time when its ability to intervene with conventional forces in a major and potentially long-term conflict is severely limited, then the use of nuclear weapons is a more likely option to be chosen in battlegrounds such as Korea and Europe.
- While the public and Congress will not support a protracted conflict, they can be either neutralized through quick action or actually mobilized behind a nuclear strike that appears limited and successful—and the "only" alternative.

Secretary of State Kissinger, who

made his reputation in the 1950's as a defense intellectual for his articulate advocacy of limited nuclear war, has not said whether he still believes in the viability of the Limited Nuclear Option. But Kissinger, like others in the administration, is virtually "obsessed" with demonstrating U.S. resolve and military strength since the fall of the Saigon regime. And he apparently believes that detente has strengthened the possibility that a nuclear war could remain limited in Korea, for example, through an "understanding" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Critics inside and outside the government, however, have long argued that there is no guarantee that a nuclear war could be kept limited—that the use of one nuclear-tipped artillery shell could easily escalate to a global nuclear war.

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